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Maryland. Governor's
Conference on School
Working papers on the

WORKING PAPERS

ON THE

RECOMMENDATIONS & SUGGESTIONS

From -

GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL DROPOUTS AND EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

September 27, 1962 Lord Baltimore Hotel

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CARNAMO STATE BERNO.

Maryland Commission for Children and Youth

State Office Building 301 West Preston Street Baltimore 1, Maryland

MARYLAND COMMISSION FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH State Office Building 301 West Preston Street Baltimore 1, Maryland

December 28, 1962

TO: PARTICIPANTS OF 1962 GOVERNOR'S CONFERENCE ON SCHOOL DROPOUTS and EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF YOUTH.

FROM: Mrs. William H. Wood, Vice-Chairman

We are forwarding to you copies of the two major addresses presented at the Conference by Mr. Daniel Schreiber and Dr. Frank Riessman.

In addition, Committees of the Maryland Commission have reviewed the many valuable workshop suggestions and recommendations and have submitted concise and comprehensive recommendations. We are also including this material for your use.

The Commission has plans to formulate additional material in the near future which will be made available to you. In the meantime, we hope that the enclosed material will be helpful to you.

JR

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PRELIMINARY FINDINGS OF THE MARYLAND COMMISSION FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH ON SCHOOL DROPOUTS AND EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

December 1962

During 1960-61, counselors in the public schools in each of the 24 local school systems of Maryland gathered data from a representative sample of pupils who withdrew from school before graduation. Based on this sample, 13,715 pupils dropped out of school during the year ending June 30, 1961.

MAJOR CHARACTERISTICS OF THE DROPOUT

AGE

- The largest percentage of dropouts left school at age 16.
 This was true for both males (46.8%) and females (44.9%).
- 2. More girls (18.1%) dropped out of school <u>before</u> age 16 than did boys (10.5%) before age 16.

MENTAL ABILITY

About half (49.8%) of the dropouts were average or above average in mental ability.

HOME

Approximately 8 out of 10 (80.8%) of the dropouts reported living with their parents.

PARENT EMPLOYMENT

In slightly more than one-fourth (27.3%) of the cases, both parents contributed to the family income.

We have determined that the school dropout generally is not able to meet society's expectations of him in the area of employment. Since this youth is a product of his life experience, there were felt to be many things that must be done prior to his leaving school so that he will become a potentially productive person in the community. This, however, raised the question of, even if he is a well-trained and adequate person, will he be able to find employment opportunities that will

allow him to function? Again, our information pointed out that at the present time our society is undergoing a transition whereby a nation's productivity is increasing faster than the number of people required for this production. With increased production, we are increasing our need for the employment of technical and professional personnel and we are not able to meet the need. At the same time, a rapid increase in population is presenting our nation with a reservoir of unemployed in the unskilled and semi-skilled groups. It is estimated that even if we could train all of those in the latter groups to take jobs in the technical and professional area there would not be enough jobs to absorb the newly trained people. It is for this reason that recommendations fall into two major areas:

- 1. That we enable the school dropout or potential school dropout to continue his schooling and acquire an ability to be gainfully employed.
- 2. That we provide job opportunities for a youth to use his developed ability to be gainfully employed.
- I. THAT WE ENABLE THE SCHOOL DROPOUT OR POTENTIAL SCHOOL DROPOUT TO ACQUIRE AN ABILITY TO BE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED.

A. Coordination

Special attention must be given to coordination of a school dropout program with an inter-disciplinary approach on a state and local level. This approach would be necessary to carry out such recommendations as the following:

- 1. That parent education be provided early (even prior to enrollment of the child in the first grade of school) in relation to child development and needs, life goals, attitudes toward school and work, the function of school, the importance of early health and medical care, etc.
- 2. That more effective ways be found for coordination of information and early identification of children with problems, both by exploring new methods and by making better use of methods already available.
- 3. That intensive continuing work be provided with parents whose children are having problems serious enough to interfere with their progress in school.

4. That in cases of pregnancy in high school girls, the resource of the school, social, and employment agencies be brought to bear so that the prospective mother, and possibly the father, are helped in a manner to enable them to function adequately in society.

B. Studies

Present knowledge of the characteristics of the school dropout indicate there is a need for retrospective and prospective studies of the characteristics of the potential school dropout. Such studies should include a focus on physical and mental health, educational and social characteristics as well as material on motivation as a component in the school dropout. Once we learn these facts, we should program for the best utilization of them. Example: Make this material available to guidance counselors and teaching personnel, private and public health workers, social workers, and employment personnel.

We recommend:

That a plan be set up for making, coordinating and for following up these studies with recommendations for implementation.

C. Education

In the area of education we are concerned with the need to prepare our young people to meet the demands of society in terms of employment. It is with this in mind that we make the following recommendations related to education:

1. Curriculum

While the curriculum alone is not responsible for dropouts, evidence indicates certain changes would assist students in continuing in school.

We recommend:

- a. That we give maximum effort to provide individual programs that meet youth's needs in vocational, academic and business curricula.
- b. That school personnel (state, local school system, and individual school) and representatives of business and industry meet together to study the problem and find solutions in regard to:

- (1) Helping the youth acquire skills that would meet the community's unemployment needs. (In this regard, we must consider vocational schools and vocational courses.)
- (2) Work-study programs
- c. That continued emphasis should be given to reading programs; if necessary, have much smaller groups for those with the greatest difficulties and thus enable every child to learn to read.
- d. That the curricula requirements be individualized to the extent that a youth who has failed academic subjects and dropped out of school may return and take the courses he feels he will need later in his life's work.

2. Teacher

We have recognized that the teacher is the key individual in working with children at all age levels. Next to the parents the teacher has the greatest influence on the growth of the child. Choice of the teacher is particularly important when placing teachers with pupils from areas of low socioeconomic standards. The need here is to prepare teachers to understand these children and learn appropriate techniques of working effectively with them.

We recommend:

- a. That a smaller number of children be assigned to each elementary classroom teacher.
- b. That teacher preparation and in-service programs include some special training in teaching methods appropriate for pupils from areas of low socio-economic standards.
- c. That in-service programs be planned to develop teacher understanding of the lack of school success of recent school dropouts.

3. Counseling Service

The complexity of our society demands that students have assistance in understanding society's needs and their potential in meeting these needs.

We recommend:

a. That counseling, guidance, and social work programs be intensified and given additional emphasis, particularly

at the elementary and junior high school levels.

- b. That workable caseloads be assigned to school counselors, pupil personnel workers, and social workers so they may work more effectively with potential dropouts. A smaller caseload would allow more time for the youngster to consult with a guidance person if he decided to get more education.
- c. That counseling should be provided for the 16 21 year old school dropout in terms of his educational needs. The question still remains to be answered as to what agency will be responsible for this counseling.

4. "Youth-to-Youth Program"

A recurring recommendation is that we develop a "Youth-to-Youth Program." This program would seek to find ways for youth to help other youth complete their high school education.

We recommend:

That local school systems explore the possibility and value of such programs.

5. Church

It is necessary for the church to become as aware of the problem of out-of-school, unemployed youth as the family, school, employment agencies, and industry. Having done this, the church should then work actively through the clergy and religious education workers to combat this problem.

In order to begin working on this, we recommend:

- a. That each church determine specifically the extent and nature of this problem within its own congregation.
- b. That, having determined the aforementioned, each church decide whether it can reach out to the non-affiliated church youth who is out of school and unemployed and outline programs for helping him, such as:
 - (1) Development by clergymen of a greater awareness of potential youth and family problems.
 - (2) Increased support by church people of budgets for school counseling and other services in the community.

- (3) Development of more youth-oriented activities as a means of encouraging willing participation by young people in the life of the church.
- (4) Leadership of clergymen in their congregations toward doing all in their power to eliminate the barriers to youth employment based on race, nepotism and other artificial handicaps.
- (5) Development by the church of a planned program with its affiliated youth to help them find positive ways to reach and help non-affiliated church youth that are out of school and unemployed.

6. Recreation

It is difficult to ascertain how leisure-time activities affect a youth's decision to drop out of school. However, once he has dropped out and is unemployed, it is important to him and the community as to how he spends this leisure time. In this regard, we must resist a tendency to treat the out-of-school, unemployed youth as if it is his fault that he cannot get a job, and we must bear in mind that the out-of-school, unemployed youth is not synonomous with a delinquent youth. If it is determined that a youth is out of school and is not able to find work, we must turn to some of the suggestions listed under "Labor and Industry" and "Governmental Programs" in the final body of this report. At the same time, we should be looking at the way in which this youth spends his leisure time. We do not know he is not overwhelming our present recreation facilities.

We recommend:

That a study be conducted on how the out-of-school, unemployed youth spends his time, with a portion of this study being devoted to why he does not use present recreational facilities. (This study will then enable us to consider programming in recreation so that we can more positively engage the out-of-school, unemployed youth in recreational facilities.)

- II. THAT WE PROVIDE JOB OPPORTUNITIES FOR A YOUTH TO USE HIS DEVELOPED ABILITY TO BE GAINFULLY EMPLOYED.
 - A. There are many important factors to be considered in placing a school dropout in a job that is productive for him and the employer. It is with this in mind that we make the following recommendations:
 - 1. Employment Service

- a. That intensive counseling be provided for the 16 to 21 year old, out-of-school youth. There is a need for the school dropout to have continued guidance related to employment and job placement after he has terminated his school career. Special attention must be given to seeing that the Maryland State Employment Service is adequately staffed with professionally qualified personnel to offer this help.
- b. That employers be encouraged to use employment service facilities in hiring.
- c. That youth be helped to consider realistic standards for employment. Many job opportunities in personal service and domestic fields are being passed by some youth because of the unrealistic standards they are demanding from a job.

2. Child Labor Laws

- a. That there be standardization of child labor laws and school attendance laws so there is no gap in which the child can be legally out of school and still be unemployable.
- b. That consideration be given to a permanent commission that would be appointed to study child labor laws on a continuing basis that they may be changed when the need arises.

3. Labor and Industry

The local community needs to be stimulated to examine potential employment resources; business and labor leaders should be helped to assume responsibility to work on this type of community action.

a. That business and labor leaders, chambers of commerce, service clubs, educational and professional leaders, and others be brought together to consider this problem. There was a concern in this area for bringing these groups together to deal, too, with what some believe to be unrealistic labor contracts regarding promotion on strictly a seniority basis and unrealistic hiring specifications in regard to expected work performance.

B. Governmental Programs

If business and industry, after meeting, decide they cannot provide enough jobs for youth, then governmental programs may be

necessary for more extensive youth employment. A state or federal project may be needed -- one similar to the Youth Conservation Corps, with applicability for urban youth in an effort to help them become productive employables in an urban situation at a later date. In this regard, we should also consider a program of part-time schooling so that students who withdraw for economic reasons may continue their education while receiving an income.

The recommendations made in this statement will involve spending more money to strengthen the many programs and services necessary to combat the problem of the out-of-school, unemployed youth. At the present time, agencies must attack this problem without proper resources and personnel. The community demands many public services which federal, state, and local departments must finance. If we are to strengthen needed programs and services, it will be necessary to realign our budgetary expenditures or get additional revenue. It is this decision that will ultimately have to be made by the local community, state, and nation, once they look at this problem and are asked to combat it.

MARYLAND COMMISSION FOR CHILDREN AND YOUTH 301 W. Preston Street, Baltimore 1, Md.

THE DROPOUT

Conference on School Dropouts and Employment Problems of Youth, Baltimore, Maryland, September 27, 1962

Presentation by Daniel Schreiber, Director, NEA Project on School Dropouts

I have yet to make a presentation of this sort on the subject of the school dropout problem, without being a little anxious at the outset over just where and how I should leap in. I have been dealing with this problem, pondering it and exploring it, continuously for a year now. And while I won't say that what it's all about hasn't become clearer to me, it is a constantly expanding problem; and it is difficult to keep abreast of it and to convey an adequate picture of its dimensions.

What is the problem? It's called the "school dropout problem," but nothing is more apparent than that it isn't, by any means only a "school" problem. In this regard I am highly gratified by the range of public and private interests which are represented here today and which are taking an active part in this conference. In a number of important respects, some of which I will try to enumerate, school dropout has become a major national social and economic problem. And it is a problem such that, wherever it occurs, the entire community is implicated and affected. Any satisfactory and lasting solution, whether on the national or the local level, is going to require cooperative and coordinated mobilization of all the resources of the community.

As a problem, dropout is a fairly recent phenomenon. It's only just achieved that status. It wasn't a problem ten years ago, or 20 or 30 years ago, when incidentally, the national dropout rate was 50 per cent as against the present national rate of 35 per cent. But today it's impossible not to see it as the keystone of a conglomeration of problems which fairly threatens to overwhelm the stability and balance of American existence. Let me briefly recapitulate for you what this conglomeration looks like.

To begin with, there is the sheer and unprecedented number of young people who, during this decade, 1960-70, will pass out of the schools and into the labor market. They are, by and large, the products of the post World War II "baby boom" who are coming of age--and with a loud ROAR. In 1960, about 26 million of them reached age 18; in 1965 the figure will be 3.8 million. Over the entire decade, about 26 million, with widely varying degrees of preparation, will have entered the labor market. And, if some revolutionary improvement has not been brought about, at least 7.5 million of them will be school dropouts--and 2.5 million of these, it has been calculated, will have had less than eight years of formal education.

Now all these figures, staggering though they be, mean nothing in themselves. As I said, we had a much higher national dropout rate not so long ago. But let me also remind you that until fairly recently, there was a continuous large demand for unskilled labor, so that dropout, in one sense, actually reinforced the division of labor. It isn't a matter of the number, or even the proportion of dropouts; it's a question of the incredibly changed world into which they seek entrance.

We are all very much conscious of the present national unemployment situation. The rate of unemployment has not fallen below five per cent in the past 50 months. In some depressed areas the rate is as high as 25 per cent. I want to spell out for you a few facts about this large population of unemployed in terms of dropout—which should also begin bringing to the surface several large questions about the function of education in our society.

l. Workers with less than a high-school education comprise about 5% of the country's technical and professional personnel. About one-fourth of the clerical workers (and most of these are women) have less than a high-school education. People with less than a high-school education hold down about one-third of the sales workers and managerial, official and proprietorial positions in the country-not bad for these dropouts.

On the other hand, about 80 per cent of the nation's farm laborers and private household workers never finished high school. Three-fifths of the service workers, and a full three-quarters of the force of generally unskilled workers are "old" school dropouts. So that we can estimate that roughly two-thirds of those workers who never completed high school are employed in unskilled or semi-skilled jobs or, to use the sonorous census bureau categories, service workers, or laborers, or operatives.

- 2. But--and this point is point number 2--not all of these people are employed. Because two-thirds of the unemployed men and women in this country have less than a high-school education; and, again, almost all these unemployed belong to the ranks of the unskilled and the semi-skilled.
- 3. Finally-point number 3-the rate of unemployment among all 16-21 year old youths is two to three times that of the total labor force. On top of this, the rate of unemployment among school dropouts 16-21 years of age is an average of 25 per cent; and, as Dr. Conant showed, in depressed neighborhoods in the great cities, this rate is likely to rise to as high as 70 per cent.

Now there is a simple and implacable logic in all of this. First of all, it's a well-known and even understandable fact that most employers when they have a choice, will prefer an older experienced worker, even for an unskilled job, to an untested and unproven youth—be he a high-school graduate or a dropout. In most cases, the older worker's experience itself is a testimony of his acclimatization to the conditions of work. His being a family man is a reasonable guarantee of his reliability. The young high-school dropout hasn't even these features to recommend him to an employer,—and the fact that he is a dropout casts some doubt on his ability to complete any job he undertakes.

The point I want to make is that, when there is an unemployment problem, it will always affect the young worker more disastrously than the older worker. This unemployment problem affects most disastrously, as I said a moment ago, the unskilled and the semi-skilled, and it is to this category, almost by definition, that the young school droput belongs. The crucial issue is this: these workers are not unemployed because they are high-school dropouts, whether young or old. They are unemployed because the kinds of jobs their training, or their lack of training, fits them for are disappearing from the labor market.

This, of course, is one major consequence, and a hard one, of the fantastic developments we are witnessing in the areas of automation and technological improvements. I am no economist and I am certainly not qualified on the argument that new techniques of automation create as many jobs as they demolish. But again, I say there is little question about the kinds of jobs that are being done away with, and there is no question that the educational requirements for employment are being raised across the board.

Let me give you a couple of small but graphic instances of what I mean.

Item No. 1. A pipeline is being planned which will carry coal in the liquefied form of slurry from West Virginia to New York. Now, as I understand it, this pipeline isn't even off the drawing boards, but the Associated Railroads of New Jersey

are already lobbying for a bill to bar it, on the grounds that its operation in New Jersey will require only five to ten men trained in handling computer controls—compared with the 1,236 workers whose jobs are now dependent on the coal traffic.

Item No. 2. Over the past ten years, 50,000 elevator operators' jobs have disappeared in New York City alone—8,000 of them last year.

Item No. 3. The Sylvania Electric Company recently introduced automated equipment for the purpose of checking transistors; today four men do the work that, a few years ago, required 100.

And, finally, the enormous difficulty of this puzzle-problem is only compounded by the expanding migratory stream of certain population groups. In many respects, this technological development is afflicting rural and agrarian populations most drastically. Employment possibilities are rapidly declining in these areas; and the populations which for centuries have been content to remain "down on the farm" ---I mean the southern rural Negro, the Appalachian Mountain White, the Puerto Pican, the Mexican American -- are being magnetized in daily thousands by the promises of the large industrial American cities. It is not that these promises are false or illusory. But, in large measure, these new migrants are extremely poor; they have little or no educational background; they bring with them cultural orientations which are almost incongruous with those of our great urban areas. The kinds of jobs or which most of these migrants are capable are fast disappearing as a result of technological improvement, yet most of them because of the poverty of their educational background cannot hope even to train themselves for the new kinds of employment being created. What is there for them, but to lie and wait on welfare, -or is there something else?

Let me respond, at this point, to the accusation that is sometimes leveled that all this concern about dropout involves a distorted representation of education and its aims that it is materialistically oriented and that it is a tool of the so-called "social engineers." From certain perspectives, I suppose there is some truth in all these arguments. But the over-riding fact remains, in face of the facts I have just enumerated, that there is no longer any place in our society for the school dropout. And, if that judgment sounds like a middle-class condescension, let me put it another way: the school dropout, given the irrevocable direction our society is taking, increasingly has no future. The youngster who quits school today is not simply abdicating a large social responsibility but he is also committing a certain kind of suicide.

By no means do I think that, whenever it occurs, dropout is altogether the youngster's fault. I have no intention of attempting to exculpate either the American schools or the American community-at-large. Youth must be dinned with this message; every effort must be made to make clear to them the imperative necessity of education. After all, it is the function of the school—and all the more so in an open democratic society—to prepare all its students to assume meaningful and productive adult responsibility. It is because the school has this supremely important function within the total society, and because school dropouts are not born, that we must begin by assuming, not that the child has failed in school, but that the school, as a major arm and instrument of society, has in some way failed the child.

Before I go on to describe for you some of the programs and techniques that have been devised in various communities to confront the challenge of dropout, I would like to sketch in briefly for you a picture of the dropout. I'm going to base my description primarily on the study of dropouts just completed under the supervision of Dr. Thomas G. Pullen, Jr., State Superintendent, State Department of Education, and Drs. Paul Huffington and Percy V. Williams of his staff.

Who, then, is the Maryland dropout? What does the dropout look like statisti-

Well, he is slightly more often male than female. Of the estimated 13,715 youngsters who dropped out of the Maryland public high schools during the year 1960-61, about 7,600 were male. In a recent study done for the Department of Labor of seven widely dispersed, middle-sized cities, the ratio was 53 per cent boys.

The great majority of these youth, in every study I have seen, quit school at age 16; in Maryland it was found that 46 per cent leave school at this age; though, in sum, 60 per cent of all the Maryland dropouts had quit school during or before their sixteenth year. The rush on the part of these youngsters to leave school at age 16 is understandable; it is no accident. This is the legal age when school attendance ceases to be mandatory—and they have been waiting a long time for it.

About one-quarter of them were in grade ten when they quit. This is relevant, because it means, in most instances, that they have just transferred out of a junio high school into the new high school environment. But, on the other hand, nearly 40 per cent never got out of the junior high school and dropped out in grades seven eight or nine. The students in this latter category, we may assume, were all fatefully over-age.

This stands to reason. More than 50 per cent had been retained at <u>least</u> once in either elementary school or junior high school, or both. This is a good record-other communities have found that nine out of ten dropouts have been retained at least once; and that six out of ten have been retained two or more times.

If these facts aren't good indices for identification, they give you ample warning in other ways. In the year prior to their leaving school, 60 per cent had records of irregular attendance. In the year they left school, nearly 75 per cent had records of irregular attendance. And during their final marking period, before leaving school, almost 75 per cent failed one or more courses, almost one-half failed three or more courses. Could there have been doubt in anybody's mind what they would do?

What was there left for the schools to do for them? What was there left for them to get from school? Only about one-tenth of these dropouts were following the academic course; the great majority were following the so-called "general" course, and the remainder were scattered in the commercial and vocational courses. One-tenth, at the time they left school, were reading below the third-grade level--they might as well have been illiterate; and a full 45 per cent were reading at a sixth-grade level or lower. Half of them had been classified to the category of "below average" mental ability--and most of them, in one way or another, probably knew it. This also means that one-half were average or above average. And I might say that we are beginning to discover that these IQ tests aren't altogether telling the story they should--or that we need to know.

What do dropouts do with themselves out of school? Here the findings of the Maryland study generally concur with those of other studies. Slightly more than 70 per cent had no part-time jobs, while they were in school; other studies, using control groups, invariably indicate that youngsters who continue on to graduation, work at more part-time jobs while they are still in school than dropouts did. But it is still difficult to figure out just what they are doing with their free time. We can take it for granted they are not doing homework. 70 per cent never participated in any school activities—athletics and other class activities. From all that we can make out, they were doing nothing—just waiting.

And so they leave the school, as well they might, if we can bring ourselves to imagine this incredible picture.

This excellent study by the Maryland State Department of Education also provides the means of making certain more refined generalizations about the dropout

youth. Only one-quarter of these students had been previously suspended from school; and only one-fifth had been considered serious behavior problems. I cannot too much emphasize the implication of these facts: dropout is by no means synonymous with juvenile delinquency; it would be disastrous for us to approach these two problems in the same way. At the same time, we can never afford to forget the social threatment of dynamite"--latent in a large population of unoccupied, unemployed, frustrated, and bewildered adolescents.

We know, by and large, where they are going, these dropouts; we know that they face only the most truncated, irregular, and circular of futures. Where do they come from, out of what kind of environment? I want to draw your attention only to a couple of revealing statistics: 78 percent of the mothers, and 80 percent of the fathers of these high-school dropouts had been dropouts themselves!! 25 per cent of the mothers and 30 per cent of the fathers had never completed the sixth grade. I think you'll agree with me that these figures are staggering; and they begin forcing us to see that it is by no means only the potential dropout child we have to contend with, but his parent as well. In a couple of other recent studies -- one in rural Louisiana and another in New York State--it was discovered that two-thirds of the parents of dropouts evidenced negative or indifferent attitudes towards the value of education. They felt that the lack of a nigh-school education would be no obstacle to their child's later adjustment or success. On the other hand, almost all the parents of in-school students considered that a young person without at least a high-school diploma would be seriously handicapped. 52 per cent of these dropout parents were either employed in unskilled jobs or were unemployed. You have an idea now how the circle of alienation and poverty closes upon itself.

Finally, let me bring to your notice one particular group of statistics: those concerning schools with a population of 500 or less. I assume that the great majority of these schools are in rural areas. In these schools, 70% of the dropouts quit school during or before their loth year. Almost 75% of the dropouts read at a grade six level or lower. 70% of these rural students were rated as having "below average" mental ability. In these rural schools, 70% of the dropouts had quit school before grade ten. 90% of the mothers, and 93% of the fathers, of these rural dropouts themselves never finished high school. And 70% of these parents are either unskilled workers or are unemployed. I'll leave these statistics uncommented on, and let you in the light of what I said earlier about increasing urbanization and migration, draw your own conclusions.

Now let me describe briefly for you a few of the new approaches that have been brought to bear upon this overwhelming and crucial problem. It is possibly true that many of the programs and projects I am about to describe are inappropriate to both your local facilities and to the nature and dimensions of your local problem. But the very variety of these programs indicates that there is no single, standard solution to this problem. And I can tell you, furthermore, that no one of these programs has made more than a dent in the problem of its locale. On the other hand, this variety of programs is also a measure of what imaginative and energetic concern can accomplish. These programs have in common the will to confront the very real needs of the segment of youth in question.

Let me, then, begin with some of the programs that provide for youngsters who have already left school.

A. The Denver Opportunity School--Courses in baking, barbering, etc. to men and women. Its graduates are readily placed and there is a waiting list to get into the school.

The famous DETROIT JOB-UPGRADING PROGRAM has operated for a number of years now with continuing success under the joint sponsorship of the Detroit Public School System and the Detroit Youth Council. Last year about a thousand dropouts, for an

average of 14 weeks, attended regular morning sessions of specialized instruction, aimed at raising them to the level of employability. In addition to the training he receives in specific skills (such as practice in alphabetizing that he may need in a clerical position), the student is instructed in matters involved in all types of employment. Pointers on filling job applications, for example, range from explanation of the importance of neatness and legibility to advice on factors to consider in listing references. Great emphasis is given to the importance of developing personality traits helpful in holding jobs—the ability to get along with coworkers, a sense of reliability and responsibility, and the opportunity to develop a constructive self-image.

During the afternoon, the participants receive closely supervised job-training. As a result of heartening cooperation on the part of business and industry, these youngsters work in various establishments throughout the city—as maintenance helpers engineer helpers, nurses! helpers and so forth. They were paid a salary of 60¢ an hour while receiving this specialized training.

Another program, in Chicago, similar in some respects to the Detroit Job-Upgrading Program, is notable because it illustrates the even further extent to which business or an industry can involve itself, if it wishes. After consulting with Dr. Benjamin Willis, General Superintendent of Schools, officials of the Carson, Pirie Scott Company, a large department store, decided to undertake an experimental work-study program with 59 young dropouts. These young people came from a range of ethnic groups and were of widely varying mental abilities. For three weeks, during which they received a nominal salary, they attended orientation courses dealing with requirements of personal appearance and communication skills necessary for department store work. Then the regular program began. Each youngster works three days a week at one of the store's regular jobs—as sales clerk, stockroom worker, or clerical assistant, what have you—at a salary of \$1 an hour. The other two days a week they attend classes in a nearby office building where they receive instruction in areas important to the development of their marketable skills—reading, speech, mathematics, and citizenship.

The experiment is over a year old now. At last report, 41 of the original 59 participants are still active in the program. Of those who have left, only 11 were either fired or quit for lack of interest. I think it is worth mentioning that since the program's inception, all the remaining 41 participants have received at least one, and most of them more than one raise.

In both these cases, there is something of an outreach on the part of the employing agency. Participation in the Detroit Job-Upgrading Program is voluntary. But counselors engage in a certain amount of proselytizing activity. And the initial group of participants in the Carson, Pirie Scott experiment were carefully selected from the school system. In other words, the agency, in both these instances has to look for the young people it can help.

These aren't altogether exceptional cases. A number of surveys of records of employment services have shown that, paradoxically, it is the unemployed out-of-school youth, living in slums and depressed areas, who take least advantage of available facilities. One of the major reasons, it was discovered, was that employment service offices are generally located in the "nicer" parts of town--very seldom, you may have noticed, are employment service offices located where the unemployed are.

It isn't that the youngsters in question are any "lazier" than others. It seems to me there is a major factor of shame involved. To begin with, dropouts quickly enough, get "wised up" to what their chances are in the labor market competition. On top of this, in any number of cases, these youngsters are simply reluctant and ashamed to venture imploringly into those neighborhoods which represent the healthy, middle-class life from which they are excluded--and where, as I said, the employment offices are located.

The New York State Employment Service in New York City recently took the only logical step towards remedying such a predicament. In a number of slum and depressed areas, with high rates of unemployment, store fronts were rented and opened up as branch offices. At last report, a substantially larger number of unemployed dropout youngsters were being serviced.

Let me pass on now to a few of the programs which are designed to hold, if possible, and to better prepare students who have managed to reach high school, but who are verging on dropping out. Most of these programs are of the work-study variety, and are essentially similar in over-all design to the Detroit Job-Upgrading Program.

Just last year the State of New York began putting this type of program on a state-wide basis. The program is called STEP; funds were channeled to establish experimental projects in seven of the state's large cities. In each community, a number of junior high school students identified as potential dropouts were offered the chance to participate. They attend school during one part of the day; during the second half of the day they receive work-training in various public buildings for which they are paid 70¢ an hour out of state funds.

A similar work-study program was initiated a couple of years ago in St. Iouis. I quote you some brief statistics which testify, by themselves, to the success of the first year of operation. The actual rate of dropout among the students enrolled in the program was 11%. Among the students in a matched control group, the rate of dropout was 35%.

In Kansas City, a work-study program of this type is entering its second year of operation. This is a six-year controlled experiment involving a group of boys who last year, were thirteen and fourteen years old and in the seventh grade, and who had been identified as potential dropouts. Now at the beginning of the second year of the project, each boy will continue one-half day in school with a special program and work during the second half of the day on an individual job. During the sixth year, he will work full-time; and upon the completion of the year he will receive a special work certificate from the school system. A number of Kansas City employers have agreed to keep one job permanently open as a training position for each boy in the program sixteen years of age or older.

Now, there is only one procedure which I know of that is more efficient than going to the mountain—that is, somehow having the mountain come to you. A program operated during the summer in a rural county in West Virginia applied just this principle of bringing the mountain to Mahomet. Last winter, the West Virginia State Legislature appropriated \$78,000 to establish a pilot program in special vocational education for unemployed school dropouts.

This special summer program was just conducted and completed in Mercer County, in the extreme southeastern tip of West Virginia. Participation in the program—and here is the feature I cannot too much emphasize—was compulsory for all 16 and 17 year—old male dropouts living in the county. On the other hand, the director of the program found that the large majority of boys didn't have to be compelled—they didn't even have to be persuaded. They leaped at the opportunity of getting the training offered. Instruction was provided in such areas as radio and television repair, welding, building trades, and plumbing. The basic objective in each instance was to give the dropout sufficient training to enable him to become gainfully employed. But at the same time, instruction stressed mathematics and urged the boys to return to schools and get their high—school diplomas. First indications are that the program was a large—scale success.

In San Francisco, the Shell Oil Company, in particular, has participated significantly in the school system's Distributive Education Program. Students who are

selected by the schools receive 32 hours of training at Shell's Advanced Retail Training Center. Then they receive on-the-job training at selected Shell Service Stations until high school graduation. Dealers train the youngsters and pay them the going rate for part-time attendants.

I hope I haven't overloaded my presentation to give you a false perspective on what I consider the problem to be. To put it frankly, work-study programs are not the answer; at least they are not the sole answer. They are almost a corrective, rather than a preventive method. They are important; but they should be something like a last resort.

There are other approaches, and I want to describe briefly one program—New York City's Higher Horizons Program—which has become almost prototypical. The Higher Horizons Program began six years ago as a Demonstration Guidance Project in a single junior high school in a low socio—economic neighborhood. Its main premise was that, regardless of what past records and IQ scores indicated, large numbers of human talents—human lives, in fact—were going to waste. As of today, 65 schools with a population of 45,000 participate in the program, and the accuracy of its premises has been substantiated many times over.

The program begins with third-grade students and extends to cover the population of thirteen junior high schools. At the beginning of the year, these students are given intelligence, and reading and arithmetic ability tests. They are then exposed to a program of instruction, which employs every productive technique available and emphasizing remedial teaching in arithmetic and reading. But these classrooms activities are supplemented and balanced by others which are considered of equal, if not greater, importance. First of all, the guidance staff of each of the schools partici pating in the program has been enlarged so that each has at least one full-time guidance counselor. I cannot possibly overstate the importance of guidance being provided to EVERY child, to assure him continuingly of the school's positive commitment to him and his potential; and not just to the child who is in need, when he is in need. Secondly, an extensive program in cultural enrichment was initiated to expose these often incredibly impoverished children and young people to many aspects of this world to which they belong--through trips to theatres, concerts, museums, libraries -- experiences taken for granted in the instance of the average middle-class child--which they might otherwise never come to know. Finally, in recog nizing that the child's aspirational uplift must be sustained and encouraged by his total environment, great attention is being given to involving the parents of the Higher Horizon students in the schools' endeavors through guidance, newsletters, and workshops.

Let me give you some of the accomplishments of the original Demonstration Guidance Project students. In various studies, they showed an average individual gain of 13 IQ points in three years. The average gain for the boys was 17 points; for the girls, 11 points. The boys, incidentally, had lower scores than the girls on the first test, and therefore produced greater gains. Let me quote from a study of 81 pupils who had taken both tests: "66 showed an increase; 12 showed a drop; and 3 remained the same ..." This ratio of increase to decrease of five to one, remained constant in all of the studies that were done. 21 students or more than one-fourth of the group showed gains of more than 21 points; 13 between 21 and 30 points; 5 between 31 and 50; and 2 between 51 and 60 points. In 1957, 26 per cent of the students had scored in the IQ category of 110 and above. In 1960, 58 per cent had scored 110 and above. What is particularly interesting is the increase in the IQ in view of previous findings that boys and girls from this background usually show a decrease in IQ as they grow older.

In general, approximately 40 per cent more pupils are finishing high school than did before. $2\frac{1}{2}$ times as many are completing academic courses, and $3\frac{1}{2}$ times as many are going on to some type of post-secondary education. In fact, of those who com-

pleted the academic course in June 1961, 91 per cent went on to further education. 66 per cent of the group graduated from senior high school, compared to an average of 40 per cent for previous groups.

I mentioned a moment ago that the Higher Horizons Program is somewhat prototypical. It has served as a model for a number of city and state programs, including several of those in the Ford Foundation's Great Cities Grey Areas Program. None of these other programs is a direct copy of Higher Horizons; each of them is unique in some respects and molded to the particular problems of its community.

In Philadelphia, as a part of the "Grey Areas" program, a mature adult with a high-school diploma, who is a resident of the school neighborhood, is assigned to the school staff. This person meets with parents on an individual basis in their homes, involves them actively in the school's activities, and enlists their participation in adult education programs organized in conjunction with other community agencies. In Detroit, this coordinator is a college graduate, a professional, usually a sociologist. In New York City schools with large Puerto Rican populations carry auxiliary teachers who are natives of Puerto Rico. Since they speak Spanish and have some approximate knowledge of the difficulties faced by new migrants, they are able to help them register and to orient both child and parent to the new school environment and to urban living. In all these instances, the schools are offering a helping hand; they are making what I call an out-reach. I think it is safe to estimate that the parents helped, in these cases, generally become better parents and their children better pupils.

You will recall that I said that the Higher Horizons Program begins its operations in the third grade of the elementary schools. But I am going to suggest that not even this beginning, given the magnitude of the problems we are confronting, come soon enough. I am going to recommend, first of all, universal kindergarten.

Following that, I would recommend the type of experimental kindergarten program which is being gotten under way in Racine, Wisconsin. It involves a class of so-called "culturally-deprived" children. They follow the normal half-day kindergarten routine. During the afternoon, though, they are being brought together as a group for additional activities designed to expand their background and horizons. As in the case of the New York students, they are taken on field trips at least twice a week--on nature hikes, to museums, parks, farms, and factories. They are being exposed to an abundance of reading materials; and their classroom has been outfitted with television and a tape recorder. All this additional activity and instruction is aimed at "Building a Background" of experience and understanding which can later lend meaning to the art of reading.

That may strike you as being as far as the matter can be pushed. But in New York City, an experimental <u>pre-kindergarten</u>, involving 3, 4 and 5 year olds, has just gone into operation in one school. This program will entail daily two-hour sessions, and it has the general intention of the Racine plan. But an important added feature will be its effort to carry over and introduce the child's school experience into the home.

Neither high school graduates nor high school dropouts are born that way. The school can and must when it identifies a potential dropout arrange and modify its program so that he too will succeed and graduate. Some cities and states have shown initiative and imagination in coming to grips with this problem and I'm sure that you, ladies and gentlemen, working cooperatively and intelligently will suggest ways to implement and expand the programs in operation in the State of Maryland.

SCHOOL DROPOUTS AND EMPLOYMENT PROBLEMS OF YOUTH

A Reading List prepared by The Enoch Pratt Free Library

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(* Most of the pamphlets listed may also be found in the general vertical files in the branch libraries.)

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"Beware the Stay-In-School Bandwagon!"

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THE DROPOUT

(29 minutes)

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(28 minutes)

Enoch Pratt Free Library September 1962 THE SCHOOL, LOW INCOME CULTURE AND THE DROPOUT

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(Governor's Conference on School Dropouts and Employment Problems of Youth, Baltimore, Maryland, September 27, 1962)

Presentation by Dr. Frank Riessman
Study Director, Mobilization for Youth, Inc.
Research Associate, Department of Psychiatry, Columbia University
Author, The Culturally Deprived Child

I have a long prepared speech that I would rather not give you, but instead I would like to talk about certain basic ideas which I have been quite concerned about lately in Mobilization for Youth. Essentially relating this to the youth dropout question, the major issue I want to confront is the notion implicit in one of your program headings which states, "Bearing in mind that the majority of school dropouts are going into service work, what changes in the school curriculum are needed to meet their needs -- how can we provide an appropriate curriculum including atmosphere for the detected potential dropouts?" I think implicit in this and implicit in a good deal of thinking in this area is that the dropout is inferior mentally. I think that this is not true at all. Dr. Schreiber pointed out this morning that the Maryland study showed that about half of the dropouts were average or above average in their ability. I consider this statement a bare minimum because the criteria used are typical intelligence tests which do not adequately measure students from lower socioeconomic backgrounds. What I will try to show is that a large number of dropouts from a lower socio-economic background have a different style of thinking, a different way of learning, and that the school is not attuned to this. In order to do this, I want to discuss two simple concepts.

First is the concept of "school culture" and second is the concept of "learning style." The school organizes learning in certain ways. It is often presumed that this is the only way you can learn. Now if you stop to think about it a minute, you will realize very quickly that this isn't the case. For example, schools use tests very heavily and test taking techniques are implicit skills that the student must learn in the school.

The school emphasizes speed a great deal. It emphasizes being able to answer questions in class very quickly. It emphasizes certain styles of learning and de-emphasizes other styles of learning. For example, it de-emphasizes and typically penalizes slow learners. In fact, we very often believe that slow learners are poor learners or that they are dull.

This isn't true. There are some slow learners who are dull but you may be slow for a great variety of reasons. You may be slow because you are painstaking, because you are very careful, or because you are very concerned about doing things with great pride, because you are distractable, or many other reasons.

We should start to think anew about slow learning. There are many positive qualities in it and we should not think of the slow learner as somebody you should put on a separate track or imply that he is negative intellectually. I think extremely good work can be done in a slow fashion. If you are going to be a great mathematician, it makes little difference whether it takes you five times as long to learn long division as it takes me to learn it. The point is that after we both learn it, you, who were very deeply involved and interested in it, may go on to do significant mathematics work while I, the fast learner, might not do this. I might jump to something else, skip around, do a variety of things. The point I am trying to make is that the school culture rewards the fast learner, builds his ego, pushes him on in the school, and encourages him, while the slow learner is pushed out of the school's mainstream. His ego is depleted and he comes to feel that he is dull. He doesn't develop involvement in the work and becomes in many cases a dropout.

The Physical Style

In addition, the school does not emphasize the physical style. I think that low socio-economic youngsters very often learn in what I call a physical style. They have to do something physically in order to learn about it. They can't simply talk about it. They are quite able to verbalize and quite able to conceptalize. But essentially they learn through physical things, through touching, through moving, through gestures, and the school doesn't particularly emphasize this. The school emphasizes two other dimensions of learning -- reading and writing. I am not suggesting there is anything wrong with learning through reading and writing and learning through hearing and speaking. I happen to learn best through hearing and speaking, particularly speaking.

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I am suggesting that methods attuned to physical styles would bring out the latent ability of the disadvantages far more. I strongly believe that we are not in any way coming near tapping the latent ability of large numbers of low socio-economic kids in school. It is true that the school today has started to use some physicalistic techniques and, of course, they have used visual techniques for a long period of time. However, you cannot use them with the implicit notion that the students are inferior intellectually and that you have to approach them visually and physically because they are inferior. I am suggesting instead that these are perfectly valid styles. The school should be more pluralistic, and different ways of learning should be accepted and developed.

I am merely touching the surface, but what I am trying to say is that the school culture itself is very narrow. It has organized learning in certain kinds of ways which have operated negatively for the lower socioeconomic dropouts.

Now in connection with this, I think it is very important to point out that there is a bifurcation today going on in the society concerning the motion of democracy and creativity or democracy and talent or excellence. You find people saying, "We want to develop gifted children and the society needs gifted people. We need great scientists, etc., in order to compete with the Soviet Union," etc. On the other hand, people say, "But we need education for everybody. Democracy is important. Everyone should be educated." I want to suggest that this separation is artificial and is based on a false assumption. I want to suggest that large numbers of children from lower socio-economic groups have great potential talent. Goodwin Watson, for example, in the introduction to my book*, states that there is more talent in the lower socio-economic group because there are more people there. But I mean much more than this. I mean there are special kinds of talent and thinking there. Dr. Irving Taylor in "A Study of Creative People" observed that certain types of creative persons in the United States have a style that very much resembles the intellectual style of this lower socio-economic group. This is characterized by the following kinds of things: it is physicalistic, it is visual, it is concretistic, it verbalizes in relation to things it can see and act upon and do. It is not what Irving Taylor calls word-bound, over-verbal, where the person cannot think without words, where the semantic structure of the language determines the whole nature of thinking. Creative people have broken out of this. There are large numbers of people in lower socio-economic groups who might be called slow gifted or physically gifted -- a different kind of giftedness, a different kind of creativity. We don't need the notion that, on one hand, we want to be democratic and, on the other hand, we want to emphasize giftedness and creativity. I think the two can be united.

In essence, we need to reflect in the school system much more of the unorthodox learner. This is needed not only for the lower socio-economic groups. For example, large numbers of you probably learn in unorthodox ways. Some of you learn only if you are thinking through the problem your own way. I call this a "one-track learner." These people, by the way, do not get rewarded in the school system until they get to graduate school, and they typically don't get there. You see, if you get to graduate school, they want you to be creative and you go on your own line. But before you get there, you have to be much more conformistic in your learning. So I am suggesting there is a great need to develop the unorthodox, the different styles of learning.

But the point, and something that I very much want to fight for in a whole series of areas, is that we don't accept different styles. We are sure that these youngsters that come from so-called deprived homes (and I've used the term, too, and I don't like it) have only negative qualities in relation to the school. I don't accept this. They have many positive qualities which we have to build into the school culture. We have to have a place for their slowness, their physical style, not deprecatingly or because we want to be democratic, or because we want to be nice to them or because we want to patronize them or condescend to them. We want to do it essentially because they have a positive style which will enrich the school as it interacts with the other styles in the school.

^{*} The Culturally Deprived Child - Harper and Row + N.Y. + 1962

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Since I come from Mobilization For Youth, I would like to tell you, very briefly, of some of the things that are going on in this program to capitalize on these positive qualities and to develop disadvantaged children. One is the homework-helper program. Very briefly, the idea is to take high school students of lower socio-economic backgrounds who are doing well and have them tutor children in elementary school who are from the same ethnic and economic background and are not doing well. This, it is hoped, will have a two-way function. It will give a great deal of aid to the people being helped, and it also would develop the helpers. It would give them greater encouragement and more understanding of the teaching process. There is even the idea that possibly some of these tutors will turn out to develop a lot of teaching skill. Possibly we might permit them to become apprentice teachers while they are going to college (after they have graduated from high school). Under a master teacher they might function as apprentice teachers at a much earlier age.

A second major thing that Mobilization for Youth is doing is the school community program in which there is a very intensive program for teachers after school hours. (Teachers are paid for this, and they are also given graduate credits.) They visit the homes twice a term and they come back to discuss in small groups led by a special leader who has knowledge of the positives in low-income culture. This is an extremely important thing to point out because if you go on a tour, or if you visit somebody's home, you can see all the wrong things or you can misunderstand. There is no guarantee that because you go into somebody's home, you will learn what is really going on there. (How is the family coping with the environment? What are the strengths in this culture?) Consequently, it is necessary for someone to work with the teachers to prepare them to go into homes and to discuss what they see when they come back.

These are two essential things we are doing, and I want to mention one other approach which is being considered. This is a completely new approach to guidance whihe is predicated on the idea of learning styles. Much guidance and counseling in the United States today is psychologically oriented. There is a strong psychodynamic flavor to it. (We very quickly perceive a child as being emotionally disturbed.) We are suggesting by contrast that what we should try to do is to study the learning style of the child and to try to develop it. In other words, to find out the way that he learns. In most cases with young children and with a large number of adult people as well do not know their own learning styles. They don't know how they learn and they don't know how to change and develop their styles. You get a student who tells you, "I can't concentrate." What he means is that when he sits down to work with the material, he can't get into it, he walks around, looks out of the window, plays the radio, does a whole series of things. While he is doing this, struggling to get into the work, his whole ego is being smashed. He thinks, "I can't concentrate -- I'm stupid -- I'm not going to learn this." He develops a great deal of anxiety. He must recognize the fact that this is the way he gets into work and that there is nothing wrong with it. A large number of people take a half hour to get into work, require a long warm up, and they have to do something physically in warming up. There are a great variety of things that can be done in organizing the warm-up period. But the student should know or be guided to know that there is nothing peculiar about him or inferior about him because he has this long warm up. He should recognize

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it and plan his work accordingly. In other words, you can't plan work for an hour if it takes you a half hour to warm up! I can plan work for 25 minutes because it takes me 20 seconds to warm up, but I can't work very long. I can't sit down and work for two hours at a stretch. I don't work that way. There are weaknesses in my style and strengths in my style and weaknesses in other people's styles and strength in other people's styles. This is what you have to recognize.

What I want to train guidance personnel to do is to try to work with the child's style -- not to give him the standard study habits that everybody knows about, but to develop particularly his specific style of learning and working. You can use some of the classic work on learning and study habits, but this is not enough. You have to find out much more about the way the child learns and then pattern a schedule for him. I would like to see guidance and teaching people give much more attention to this. I think they can be trained to it quite easily; I don't think it takes four years of graduate study to acquire these skills.

Again, on the same theme that I was suggesting before, let me close by reiterating that there needs to be recognition of differences. In essence, I would like to put the D back in Democracy -- the D for <u>differences!</u>

The following is a list of suggestions for the education of the disadvantaged child:

- l. Adapt the Montessori methods for use with low-income children. This might be especially useful because of the strong sensory-motor orientation of these methods.
- 2. Segregate the sexes in the early grades. This might be effective because the disadvantaged boy is most antagonistic to the school and his work is generally far poorer than that of the disadvantaged girl. (Male teachers for the boys is also advisable.)
- 3. Develop a program of teacher sponsors, where every child in the school (or in the first year) sees a teacher (other than his own) for one-half hour per week -- "just to talk," acquire school know-how, have a friend, etc. Sponsors from outside the school might also be used.
- 4. Develop a program where role-playing is the central method of instruction.
- 5. Develop a program of school (and class) competition through the use of spelling bees, special projects, contests, etc.
- 6. Develop one or two apprentice teachers from among the ten best high school students of lower class origin in the neighborhood. These students would receive special training and would then teach under the supervision and guidance of a master teacher.
- 7. Plan for a special summer session program in the schools for various groups of low-income youngsters (possibly for individuals having special education problems).

- 8. Develop reading materials that utilize "hip" language. The purpose of this is to provide motivation and timulation and it is essentially a transitional technique. In the Great Cities Program in Detroit, the speech of low-income youngsters was taped and then utilized in developing curriculum materials. The MacMillan Publishing Company is in the process of publishing readers especially appropriate for all urban youngsters. These readers are being prepared by the Bank Street College research staff.
- 9. Provide low-income youngsters with paperback textbooks which they would own and be encouraged to mark up intensively (with questions, underlining, etc.). The book should be seen as a tool and should be used "physically."
- 10. Experiment with the new British phonetic AR (Augmented Roman) alphabet.
- 11. Develop films appropriate for teaching low-income groups and for preparing teachers to teach in lower class settings.
- 12. Develop new "urban teacher" training programs especially designed to prepare teachers for working in disadvantaged areas. (See Harry N. Rivlin, "Teachers for the Schools in Our Big Cities," prepared for the Schoolmen's Week Program, October 12, 1962, and also the Hunter College program in New York City.)

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